1: Karsten--183-184
116, 571, 592, 611, 621

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-1

"From the statements I have previously made as to the distribution of the Jibaro tribes it appears that their social organization is loose. In fact, the whole people is split up into a great number of tribes which in their turn are sub-divided into smaller clans or septs comprising a few families closely related to one another by blood. These sub-tribes do not form village communities; each family inhabits its own big communal house (hēa), but these are not situated close to one another, they lie scattered here and there in the virgin forest. Generally one has to march for one or several hours to arrive at the next house. Each Jibaro house forms in fact a separate and independent social, political, and economic unit with its own household, its own plantations in the vicinity of the house, and its own ruler or chief, the oldest family father who, at any rate in time of peace, is not controlled by anybody. It is much the same feature that we meet in other parts of tropical South America, where the impenetrable virgin forests necessarily lead to social disintegration, which is further increased by the general anti-social tendencies of the Indians. The state of things found among the Jibaros, however, is in many respects unique.

Their society is thus based on the family and the blood tie. Only such sub-tribes as recognize some sort of consanguinity display a feeling of solidarity: the rest, although they speak the same language, are looked upon, not only as outsiders, but as downright natural enemies, a feature which will be further illustrated in the part dealing

with their wars. It is as a rule between the different sub-tribes that the wars of extermination have occurred.

Still, as appears from their history, there have been occasions when they have been able to overcome the natural antipathy separating them from one another, and to unite against a common enemy. This common enemy has been the white man, who has so often threatened [184] the liberty of the people; but the alliances, such as that for instance in 1599, have been exceptional and wholly due to the influence of a single, eminent personality."

1: Karsten--250-251 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 592, 577 (1928-29)

"Social sympathy and the feeling of solidarity is quite strong within the family and the sub-tribe, the members of which are united by the blood-tie. For instance the close relation between two brothers, and the duties arising therefrom, has already appeared from the custom of levirate, and will be further illustrated in connection with the institution of blood-revenge. Still, even within the family conflicts sometimes arise, it may be on account of the women or the dread of witchcraft, and in a few cases may lead to bloody tragedies. Fights may also arise at the drinking-feasts. In general, social sympathy has not developed among them those extreme forms which it assumes among the more primitive Chaco Indians, where it has led to a sort of practical communism or socialism, at least as regards food; but the Jibaros, supporting life with ease with their own work, are not dependent on one another to the same extent. We have seen for instance that great hospitality is shown to such strangers as are regarded as friends; but this hospitality is not, so to speak, a natural virtue, but a matter of etiquette, or more strictly speaking, a custom forming part and parcel of Indian 'diplomacy'. Ownership is strictly respected; everybody in the house, not only the family-father but also the wives and the children, have their private property--mostly consisting of ornaments of some kind--over which they have full control. Theft is unknown in the social life of the Jibaros, at least among the tribes unaffected by Christian civilization. To steal [251] from a person who has never offended him is clearly at

variance with that strong sense of justice which is one of the moral characteristics of the Jibaro. Unfortunately it is otherwise with the half-civilized and now more or less degenerated Canelos Indians, among whom I heard of several serious cases of theft."

l: Karsten- 267
116, 592, 622, 701

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"Among the Jibaros as we have seen each family father is theoretically absolute ruler over his house people, and in times of peace there is no recognized common chief even within the tribe, and still less any exercising authority over several tribes. The Jibaros have not even a proper name for a chief. The word capitu, which is sometimes used, is borrowed from the Spanish and is used principally to denote a white man of importance. It is only in times of war that a chieftainship exists; that is to say, during those great wars of extermination which are carried out against other Jibaro tribes. Such a temporary chief of war is generally only called únta, 'the old one', because the chiefs are nearly always old, experienced men who have killed many enemies and captured many heads. The small blood-feuds within the tribe, on the other hand, have a more private character and as a rule are not fought out under the leadership of a common chief."

2: Stirling--38-39 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 592, 624

"At the present time the political organization of the Jivaros is at best a very flexible thing and is simple both in theory and in practice. The Jivaro-speaking peoples are divided into scores of so-called tribes. These tribal divisions, however, are merely artificial denominations given by the whites to groups more or less isolated in certain geographical units such as rivers or divides. Tribes in this sense have no existence in the minds of the Indians themselves.

The simplest unit of organization is the patrilineal family group living under a single roof. Such a household is quite independent and self-sufficient, being subservient to no one. The head of the [39] household is usually the oldest man in it, known by the Spanish term 'capito.' Where there are a number of houses in the same general vicinity these may recognize a common war leader known by the Quechua term 'curaka.' It is significant that there is apparently no word in the Jivaro language indicating the equivalent of our idea of a chief."

10: Anthony--147 [3] (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 592, 621

"The Jivaros are a tribe of warriors and hunters, and devote but little attention to the cultivation of the soil. They live in small, scattered communities located on the rivers, and raise a little cotton and such things as yuca or cassava. Although they recognize a captain or chief, his authority appears to be largely nominal. He exerts but little influence upon the members of the tribe. As a result the communities are controlled by the heads of the families and the system may, perhaps, be best described as patriarchal. The father of a family is a responsible member of the community and his relatives aid him in offensive compaigns or rally to his defense."

The houses are always very spacious since they have to serve more than one family. According to one of my informants, such a house is inhabited by up to 50 persons. As a rule it is the Curaca, as the chief, with his children and their wives and husbands. And since a Curaca may have up to ten wives, the great number of dwellers can be explained without difficulty. The aforementioned house of the Curaca Laichape had a width of 10 meters and a length of 15 meters. 20 - 30 persons lived in this house.

26: Brüning--70 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 592

The chieftain, his wives and children, constitute a house community. The whites refer to the master of the household with the quichua word kuraka, i.e., chieftain. The Indians used the same term in their conversations with us. I have not been able to find out whether they had an Aguaruna word for it, but one should think so. I noticed two cases in which the son-in-law lived in the tambo of his father-in-law, but I would not be able to say that this is the rule.

31; Danielsson--84-86 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 571, 592, 342, 361

"The only social unit is the family, which term is used for describing all individuals related by birth or by intermarriage and living in the same house. Each such house forms an independent social, political and economic [86] unit. The houses have large dimensions (fifty by one hundred feet is not an uncommon size), and a house may contain up to fifty persons. The family houses are scattered in sparse clusters along the rivulets. Two houses are seldom found together, and the distance between the separate houses generally varies from one to five miles. (The locations of each family house dealt with in this study are shown with Roman figures on Map II. The houses indicated are all that exist in the mapped area.)"

31: Danielsson--86 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 592, 162

"Each house-group is made up of various men and their wives and children. A usual combination is: the head of the family, some of his brothers and sons and some sons-in-law, each one with his wives and children. That the Jibaros practise polygamy seems to be easily explained by the fact that the continual wars and fights have greatly reduced the male population. The sex ratio for the adult population, for instance, for the groups studied is 69 men to 168 women. (See Table I)."

"As could be expected the blood relationship is highly correlated with attraction.(9) Table V shows the interaction within each family house, in all the three geographical groups, computed after the same formula used on page eleven:

$$\frac{\text{total choices made} \times 100}{N^2 - N}$$

TABLE V

Interaction Within Each Family House

Patuca family no.	Percentage	Yurupaza family no.	Percentage	Taupi family no.	Percentage
I	100.00%	I	100.00%	I	100.00%
II	66.66%	II	100.00%	II	92.22%
III	100.00%	III	100.00%	III	100.00%
IV	100.00%	IV	33.33%	IV	100.00%
V	100.00%	V	100.00%	V	100.00%
VI	100.00%			VI	100.00%

"9. Irwin T. Sanders: 'Sociometric Work with a Bulgarian Woodcutting Group', Sociometry, Vol. II, 1939."

In all the groups not showing a 100% interaction (Patuca II, Yurupaza IV, Yaupi II) the reason seemed to be a recent incorporation into the family group of a son-in-law (among the Jibaros the son-in-law frequently [103] moves over to the house of the father-in-law). In these cases (II8C among B-members in Patuca II, IV13B among C-members in Yurupaza IV, and 116A among B-members in Yaupi II) (see Charts II, IV and VI) the arrival of the new-comer is resented by some of the old members of the family house."

/330 cont./ Each house
361 lies alone by itself, as though lost in the forest, and is usually
542 inhabited by only one family, rarely by several. In approach-
524 ing, certain precautionary measures must be observed to ensure
546 a friendly reception. The visit is announced from a great dis-
tance by shouting, but in the immediate vicinity of the house
[721] one marches in absolute silence. This is done in order to
demonstrate peaceful intent, since during an attack the Jivaro
steals quietly through the forest, but then rushes with a loud war
whoop across the open plaza to the house.

342 The houses, the tambos, are real forest palaces, ex-
824 tremely clean and regularly built, with successful utilization
of the materials provided by the forest. The high roof, beauti-
fully plaited out of palm leaves, is supported by several rows
of slender columns, the faultless trunks of giant palms. the
rafters are decoratively arranged in such a way that they can be
considered ornamentation. The walls all around, made of tightly
fitted split bamboo, fill hardly half the space between the floor
and the edge of the roof, so that air comes in freely and yet
342 protection against a first attack is assured. Each house exhibits
two doors, one on the straight front wall, the other in the center
of the semicircular, projecting rear-side. The house of a
young chief was 87 feet long, 60 feet wide, and about 25 feet
353 high, an airy, beautiful building. The front third served as a
sort of reception room. Shield and drum were hung on the palm-
trunks supporting the roof; special contrivances permit the
secure placement of the lances and blowguns, whose quivers
352 are put near the fires. /331/ Some low sitting-benches carved
out of wood take the place of chairs. low benches made out of
split bamboo are placed along the walls, and several frames of
the same type serve as couches for the men so that they may take
a siesta during the day. These latter contrivances are peculiar
in that there is space on them for the body only about to the
knee, but the foot rests on a slender crosspiece supported by
354 two forks for the support of the freely projecting leg. Directly
in front of this pedestal a very smoky fire burns continuously.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

and the speaker is at home or visiting the house of a Jivaro on another tributary of the Canguimi, the visitor will use the name of his home tributary stream as the label for his group, e.g., *wirui huwi* (people of the jaguar stream). If the same speaker is a day's journey away, however, visiting a Jivaro household on the Río Pangui, he will say that his home group is the *kenaim huwi* (Río Canguimi people). If he is visiting another tribe, such as the Achuara, he will use an even broader term to denote his own people, e.g., *untsuri huwi* (numerous people), a term encompassing all the people who speak his dialect, in other words, the Jivaro tribe, but even its boundaries may be somewhat hazy in his mind. Given the haziness of definition of community and an absence of unilineal kin groups, the household tends to be the most concrete social unit visible in Jivaro society.

The Household, Child-rearing, and Kin

Most Jivaro households are very close-knit economic and social units, in contrast to the neighborhood and tribal society as a whole. Each house, averaging about nine occupants, is usually isolated a half-mile or more from the next, but sometimes two, or rarely three, houses may be located within three hundred yards of one another. Adjacent houses, when they occur, invariably belong to close relatives, usually one being that of a middle-aged man and the other(s) of his son(s)-in-law. Even such limited concentrations are not very permanent, due to such factors as quarreling between the neighboring relatives or the gradual depletion of the local wild game supply.

A household tends to have a typical composition of: one

34 Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

man, two wives, and seven children; or a man, one wife, and three children. Often another relative, such as the widowed mother or an unmarried brother of the head of the household, also resides in the dwelling. Upon marriage of a daughter, the house's population is augmented by the son-in-law (*nuse*), who will tend to remain until the birth of his wife's first child. Thereafter, according to the norm, the son-in-law and his family dwell in a new house nearby.

Sometimes matrilocal residence is avoided altogether when the suitor substitutes the gift of a shotgun to his father-in-law, instead of performing the more common bride-service. This substitution of bride-price for bride-service tends to occur in cases where the suitor feels that a period of matrilocal residence would be a liability, rather than an asset to him, e.g., when his bride's family lives in a neighborhood containing a number of enemies of the suitor's family or when he is already married and must take his bride home with him.

The man is formally head of the household and also informally seems generally to dominate his family. He is responsible for protecting his wife (wives) and children, for hunting and fishing, for clearing the forest for garden plots, and for cutting and bringing in fire logs. He also does some very limited garden chores and weaves the family's homemade garments. His wife (wives) is responsible for the overwhelming majority of the agricultural tasks, as well as for cooking and beer preparation, pottery making, and tending the children, chickens, and pigs, if any. When a son-in-law is resident in the household or living nearby, he helps his father-in-law at his various tasks, and also contributes game and firewood to his father-in-law's household. The son-in-law's wife also often helps her mother, even when resident in another neighboring house. A man and his son(s)-in-law

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

normally consider themselves mutually obligated to defend each other's households from enemies. 606

Men strongly prefer to have two or more wives. The subsistence productivity of the household closely correlates with the number of wives possessed by a man, because the women are responsible for more of the agricultural production. Thus, a satisfactory household production of food and the important manioc beer is dependent upon polygyny. 595 592

The most common number of wives for a man to have is two, one, or three, in that order. The emphasis on polygyny, in part, reflects the fact that the ratio of adult females to adult males is approximately 2:1, largely as a consequence of the attrition of the adult male population through killing. The demand for wives nevertheless exceeds the supply, as evidenced by the common practice of "reserving" a prepuberty girl as a future wife by giving gifts of featherwork and trade goods to her parents. Not infrequently, her future husband then takes her home with him to raise her in his house prior to the actual consummation of the marriage. The extreme nature of the demand for wives is illustrated by the fact that a man sometimes gets a pregnant woman and her husband to agree to "reserve" the unborn child for him if it should be female. Needless to say, these practices result in marriages in which the husband is often substantially older. 162 595 584 [582]

An unmarried girl of post-puberty age is normally courted and involved in the decision to become a wife. The suitor, after he informally ascertains her willingness, sends a close male kinsman of his own generation to act as a go-between to sound out the girl's father who, in turn, consults with the girl and her mother. If the go-between reports back to the suitor that there is no opposition, then the latter goes late 584 585

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

fallen trees many a time; they resemble in every respect those of a clearing made by beavers.[8]

Today such "giant" trees as referred to by Up de Graff are often felled in a matter of hours by a single man employing a steel axe, or somewhat longer if he only has a machete.

Despite the increased availability of steel axes and machetes for land clearing and weeding in recent decades, the size of forest areas cleared for gardens has not become larger. In fact, garden size and agricultural production are actually reported to have decreased by perhaps a third of what they were several decades ago.[4] Specifically, elderly informants estimate that the present garden size per nuclear family is one half to three quarters of what it was in 1925. They attribute the decline in agricultural production to the disinclination of the young men to clear land "because they do not like to work hard the way their fathers did." Instead, according to the informants, the younger men have their minds fixed on acquiring shotguns, steel tools, and other goods by becoming shamans or trading partners, and also spend more time than formerly in visiting each other's houses, drinking, and engaging in pre- and extra-marital sexual adventures.

There has also been a growing tendency for each household to have several small garden plots rather than the single large garden which was previously typical. This change is attributed to the fact that the steel axe and machete are so much more efficient than the preceding stone tools that a man can now successfully work alone in tree felling without needing to call on his neighbors for help. By avoiding asking them for help, he hopes to maintain better relations with them and thereby secure their services in some more important matter. Since a man usually works alone at intermittent times, the individ-

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

ual garden plots tend to be smaller than those resulting from a large sustained effort by a group of neighbors.

Within the household, the basic aspects of life seem little changed except with regard to the amount of time men spend in land clearing and weaving. In recent decades, the time spent on these activities has been reduced, respectively, by the adoption of steel cutting tools and the acquisition of Western and Achuara cloth and articles of dress through trading partnerships. A man instead spends a larger percentage of his time simply relaxing in the house, going hunting to obtain skins for trade, and visiting other households.

The period of temporary matrilocal residence has become shortened in recent decades so that it now usually ends soon after the birth of the first child. Formerly, the couple commonly remained in the wife's parents' house until after the birth of the second or third child. The factors behind this change are not clear except that some informants said that in-laws were not getting along as well as they used to do in the old days. The occasional practice of avoiding temporary matrilocal residence and bride-service, by giving the bride's father a shotgun, is reportedly a recent development.

The introduction of firearms, starting slowly at about the turn of the century, constituted a major technological change in Jivaro culture comparable in importance to the adoption of steel cutting tools. At that time, during the height of the Amazon rubber boom, a few Winchester .44 caliber carbines were acquired by the interior Jivaro from the Achuara, the firearms being captured during head-taking raids. The acquisition of great numbers of firearms by the interior Jivaro, however, is a development of only the last three decades. The new firearms, which are muzzle-loading shotguns of Spanish manufacture, and possessed by virtually every adult male, have been acquired along with gunpowder and shot by trade